

S P E E C H
OF THE
HON. JOSEPH HOWE,
ON
INTER-COLONIAL RAILROADS,
AND
COLONIZATION;

Delivered at HALIFAX, NOVA-SCOTIA, MAY, 1851.

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RAILROADS AND COLONIZATION.

The PUBLIC Meeting convened by His Worship the MAYOR, pursuant to a requisition signed by a numerous and highly respectable body of our most influential Citizens, was held at the Masonic Hall on Thursday the 15th of May. At half-past two the Hon. Joseph Howe entered the room, and was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

His Worship having assumed the Chair, Messrs J. L. SHANNON and A. B. ALMON, Esqrs., were appointed Secretaries.

The Mayor then rose and said. Fellow Citizens: Under the requisition which I hold in my hand, signed by upwards of 300 persons of all classes and creeds—all conditions and all political opinions—this meeting has been convened for the purpose of discussing this topic so engrossing and important; one which peculiarly interests every man living in this City or Country. I need express no opinion touching the course we should pursue; this I may say, however, whichever be adopted you have my heartiest and warmest wishes for success. (*Cheers.*) I scarcely need express the belief which I entertain that the harmonious unanimity of feeling which characterised the opening of this meeting will continue whilst we are together. If, however, there be opposition, or clashing of opinion—let the views of all be freely expressed, and fairly heard and answered. In conclusion I have to announce that this meeting is now open for the discussion of the subject which has called us together; and may again renew my wish that success may crown our efforts. (*Cheers.*)

The Hon Joseph Howe rose and said. Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen—This meeting has been called to ascertain whether the citizens of Halifax, after six months' deliberation and reflection, are as unanimous as they were in August last—whether they are still disposed to entrust to their Government the task of constructing Inter-Colonial Railways—and whether they are prepared to accept the terms which have been offered to the Province in Mr. Hawes' letter of the 10th March. The position

which the negotiations have assumed, renders it necessary that efforts should be made to overcome difficulties that have arisen beyond our own frontier. The Government contemplate sending a deputation to Canada, to confer with delegates from the neighboring Provinces, in the confident hope that those difficulties may be overcome, and that that unity of action and mutual harmony may be secured, by which alone the great works contemplated can be rendered not only practicable, but easy of accomplishment, within a reasonable time. To appoint man however, to perform this service—to send them from amongst us to negotiate with the governments of Canada and New Brunswick, in ignorance of the state of public feeling at home—before they know whether the ground behind them is firm and stable—would be unwise, premature and useless. They could not with confidence ask New Brunswickers or Canadians to give their sanction to any line of policy, before they know whether or not Nova Scotians were determined to sustain it. I am happy in the belief, that the unanimity which presages success—the manly forbearance and generous rivalry which ensure the perfection of large and comprehensive measures, upon sound principles, do exist among us; do pervade the community, actuating and animating the large and highly respectable body of our fellow citizens here assembled. So far as I have been enabled to gather the general sentiment since my return—from frequent communications with leading men, representing great interests, and the opinions of large sections of our people—I believe that the resolutions which have been prepared for submission, will meet the unanimous support of this assemblage.

The Imperial Government—with a magnanimity which does honor to the British people, sustained by that unanimity of sentiment among the great leaders of public opinion at home, which promises a long continuance of the honorable relations existing between them and us—has offered to the three British North American Provinces, seven millions of pounds sterling, at the lowest interest which money can be obtained in the world. This money is offered for the purpose of enabling them to complete, in an incredibly short space of time, and with security and ease, great internal improvements which their advanced condition renders so desirable—which will bind them together into one prosperous community—animate them with new hopes and aspirations; and ultimately elevate them from

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the colonial condition to that of a great and prosperous nation, in perpetual amity and friendship with those glorious Islands to which we trace our origin, and to which, through this great boon, so much of our material prosperity will, in all time to come, be traced.—(Cheers.)

Halifax has been formed by nature, and selected by the dictates of sound policy, as a common terminus for these great inter-colonial railways. Three hundred and thirty miles will connect us with Portland; with all the lines which interlace the American Republic, and bind together the prosperous communities of the South and West. Six hundred and seventy miles more, opening up the central lands and settlements of New Brunswick, will not only connect us, as we originally contemplated, with Quebec and the St. Lawrence, but passing through 180 miles of settlements on that noble river, will place us in communication with that populous city of Montreal, which will soon be in connection with Portland on the other side,—the circle being thus complete, and chains of intercommunication established, easily accessible, by shorter lines, to all the rising towns and settlements which that wide circuit will embrace.

But when Montreal is reached, shall we stop there? Who believe it? Who can think so lightly of the enterprise of Western Canada, as to apprehend that she will not continue this iron road, link by link, till it skirts the shores of Ontario and Erie, and draws its tributary streams of traffic from the prolific regions of Simcoe, Superior and Huron? Already municipalities are organizing and companies are forming to extend this railway for six hundred miles above Montreal. Once completed to that city; how will those interior lines advance? How many interests will combine for their extension? The British government and people will take a natural pride in the continuation of this great national work. The success of the lower lines will be promoted and ensured by extension. British capitalists and contractors, lured into this boundless field, will seek further employment for their capital and labor,—and millions of industrious people will flow into provinces where employment is certain and land is cheap. This is the prospect before us, sir, and the duties it imposes we must learn to discharge with energy—the destiny it discloses we may contemplate with pride. England foresees, yet fears it not. She relies upon our resources and upon our integrity to repay her money. She be-

lieves in the existence of the old feelings here, which are to strengthen with our strength, and bind us to her by links of love, when pecuniary obligations have been cancelled. She virtually says to us, by this offer—there are seven millions of sovereigns at half the price that your neighbors pay in the markets of the world; construct your railways—people your waste lands—organize and improve the boundless territory beneath your feet—learn to rely upon and to defend yourselves, and God speed you in the formation of national character and national institutions.—(Cheers.)

But, sir, daring as may appear the scope of this conception, high as the destiny may seem which it discloses for our children—and boundless the fields of honorable labour which it presents—another, grander in proportions, opens beyond; one which the imagination of a Poet could not exaggerate, but which the Statesman may grasp and realize, even in our own day. Sir, to bind these disjointed Provinces together by Iron Roads—to give them the homogeneous character, fixedness of purpose, and elevation of sentiment, which they so much require, is our first duty. But, after all, they occupy but a limited portion of that boundless heritage which God and Nature have given to us and to our children. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are but the frontage of a territory which includes 4,000,000 of square miles, stretching away behind and beyond them, to the Frozen Regions on the one side and to the Pacific on the other. Of this great section of the globe, all the Northern Provinces, including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, occupy but 486,000 square miles. The Hudson's Bay territory includes 250,000. Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent Country between Canada and the Pacific, out of which five or six noble Provinces may be formed, larger than any we have, and presenting to the hand of industry and to the eye of speculation, every variety of soil, climate and resource. With such a territory as this to overrun, organize and improve, think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada; or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver's Island with its vast Coal measures, lies beyond. The beautiful Islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of the ocean, are beyond. Populous China and the rich East, are beyond, and the sails of our children's children, will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the South, as they now brave the angry tempests of the North. The Maritime Pro-

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vinces which I now address, are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region—the wharves upon which its business will be transacted, and beside which its rich argosies are to lie. Nova Scotia is one of these. Will you then, put your hands unitedly—with order, intelligence and energy, to this great work? Refuse and you are recreants to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement? refuse, and the Deity's hand-writing upon land and sea, is to you unintelligible language;—refuse, and Nova Scotia, instead of occupying the foreground as she does, should have been thrown back, at least behind the rocky mountains. God has planted your Country in the front of this boundless region—see that you comprehend its destiny and resources—see that you discharge with energy and elevation of soul, the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position. Hitherto, my Countrymen, you have dealt with this subject in a becoming spirit, and whatever others may think or apprehend, I know that you will persevere in that spirit until our objects are attained. (Hear, and cheers.) I am neither a Prophet, nor a son of a Prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal, and home through Portland and St. John by Rail; and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the Steam Engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days. With such objects in view, with the means before us to open up 1000 miles of this noble territory—to increase its resources, and lay bare its treasures, surely all petty jealousies and personal rivalries should stand rebuked; all minor questions of mere local interest should give way. The smoke of past contests has perhaps at times clogged my own mind: like an old chimney, the soot of controversy may have adhered to it, after the cooking of constitutions was over. But the fire of this noble enterprise has burnt it out. I come back after six months absence, prepared to co-operate with any man who will honestly aid me to work out the prosperity of our common country,—and I am glad to discover that a reciprocal and cordial feeling is manifested by those whose opinions differ, on other subjects, from my own.

It is frequently said, sir, that a Government should not touch these public works. But the Roads of a country—the Queen's Highways, surely come within the purview of the Executive. In this case it is clear, that, unless done by the Government,

these great Railways cannot be done at all. Even if Companies could make them, they would cost Fourteen millions instead of Seven. But, sir, what is a Government for, if it is not to take the lead in noble enterprises—to stimulate industry—to elevate and guide the public mind? You may set eight or nine men on red cushions or gilded chairs, with nothing to do but pocket their salaries, and call that a Government. To such a pageant I have no desire to belong. Those who aspire to govern others should neither be afraid of the saddle by day nor of the lamp by night. In advance of the general intelligence they should lead the way to improvement and prosperity. I would rather assume the staff of Moses, and struggle with the perils of the wilderness, and the waywardness of the multitude, than be a golden calf elevated in gorgeous inactivity—the object of a worship which debased. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

But how came this work to be assumed by the Government? The citizens of Halifax, by acclamation, handed it over to us at the great meeting held in Temperance Hall, after the return of the Delegates from Portland. The Capitalists of the Province were there, and confessed that the enterprise was beyond their grasp. The people were there, and the feeling was universal that this work was to be done by the Government if done at all. At that meeting many an old antipathy was buried, and the Government assumed and has carried on the project in the spirit with which it was tendered. That meeting was held in August. Sir John Harvey's Despatch, asking for the Imperial Guarantee, bears date the 29th of that month. The refusal which led to the Delegation reached Halifax in October. On the 1st November the delegate left for England. The first interview granted to me was on the 18th; I could not decide upon any course till that was over. In a week after, the first letter to Earl Grey was written; it went in on the 25th. So far, you will perceive, that from August to the end of November, not a moment was lost. The meeting at Southampton was held on the 14th of January—the second letter to Earl Grey is dated the 16th. Six weeks elapsed between the dates of the two letters. How were these passed? In reading a cartload of Books and Pamphlets, and Parliamentary Records and Reports, that I might gather facts, and ascertain what others had written and said, on the subjects I wished to treat;—in diving by day and night into the mysteries of that industrial and social life which it might become my duty to

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illustrate. However impatient some of you have been, no Nova Scotian who had not seen England for ten years could have wisely appealed to its intelligence without this preparation. The best proof that the time was not wasted is to be found in the fact, that no hostile criticism met my eye before I left England; nor was a single statement attempted to be gainsayed.

From the 16th of January to the 14th of February, the whole subject was under the consideration of the Cabinet with Lord Grey's confident assurance of a favorable result. But delays were unavoidable. The Nation was boiling with excitement upon other questions, and the Ministers were much engrossed. Even after the generous debate in the House of Lords, some delay was inevitable, and it was not until the 20th of February that I had Lord Grey's Draft of the proposition embodied in Mr. Hawes' letter. With that upon my table, honorably crowning my mission, you may imagine what I endured during the Ministerial crisis which lasted a fortnight, and during all which time no official character could be given to the Draft. Mr. Hawes's letter came on the 20th March, and my friends in England congratulated me on the termination of my labours. But I knew better. The local interests, and apprehensions, the personal rivalries and jealousies, of three Provinces over the sea, rose before me, and I thought a month would be well spent in preparing to deal with these.

Before I show you what I did, let me say a word or two to those, if any there are, who hold the opinion that the offer of the British Government is not as liberal and magnificent as it has been described, because no direct contribution has been given. In the first place, as a Nova Scotian, whose forefathers have gone through difficulties and privations which the present generation are not called upon to endure—who has shared in the inheritance of a country already valued at Fifteen millions—owing nothing abroad, and but a nominal debt to its own people, which a year's revenue would pay off: I am too proud to accept as a gift a single sovereign from my bretheren in the British Islands. With all the surplus wealth of England, the taxation to meet the interest of weighty obligations, and an imperial expenditure, is onerous. What right have I to take a shilling out of the pocket of a Manchester weaver, or of a poor Orange Woman in the Strand, to make our Railroads? The credit of the Imperial Government I would freely use, without a blush of shame, or a sense of dishonorable obligation, but

trust me, there is not a high spirited Nova Scotian who would take a shilling of its money. But suppose money had been given. Suppose Earl Grey had said to me, there Mr. Howe, are a million of Sovereigns, go and get the other six millions where you can : The six would have cost us just £150 000 a year more than the whole will cost now. Suppose His Lordship had given me two, or even three millions, and the most exacting spirit over the border would hardly require more, —I must have paid £240,000 a year for the four millions at 6 per cent, while the whole seven will now cost but £245,000. Is it not clear, then, that if I had accepted even two millions in solid gold, instead of the terms offered in Mr. Hawes' letter, I should have been an idiot ? Is it not equally clear that the interposition of Imperial credit, while it leaves our pride untouched, and the resources of Great Britain undiminished, actually saves us nearly Three Millions of Pounds Sterling in the construction of our public works ? Could I have stood here to-day, with brow erect, if over-taxed Englishmen's money was in my hand ? Would you have taken it if I had ? No you would not. The service offered is incalculable. The sense of obligation should be as deep as it will be lasting. We incur this debt without dishonor, as we will discharge it in all integrity and good faith. (Loud Cheers.) Those who undervalue this magnificent boon, offered to us by the British Government, should reflect that seven millions of money, drawn from our own resources, or borrowed on our own credit in the general market of the world, would cost us just £157,000 a year more than if we take the sum upon the terms which it has been my good fortune to secure. (Loud cheering.)

But, Mr. Mayor, I thought it was just possible that there might be some obstructions presented, in some quarter, and I thought it might be as well to put Nova-Scotia in a position to act independently of those obstructions. I am happy to say that she is now prepared at all points. I hold in my hand two letters, one from the London and Westminster Bank, the other from the Commercial Bank of London.—The first is perhaps the strongest monied institution in Great Britain, next to the Bank of England—the position and resources of the other are well known.—Either will open an account with Nova-Scotia alone, with or without guarantees ; will honor our drafts, sell our debentures, and protect our credit ; we draw to-morrow for 20 or £30,000. Here is a letter from another Capita-

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list, who will do all this, and place £100,000 at our disposal. The interest is high it is true, but the arrangement may be useful, should Nova-Scotia be compelled to fall back on her own resources.

Even with these, you will perceive, we are tolerably well armed; but here are three letters from English contractors, either of whom could and would make one of our lines, and some of whom offer to make the whole line to the St. Lawrence. [Mr. Howe here read one of these letters, signed by two gentlemen, whose notes would float, he said, through any Bank in London for a Million of Pounds, and who were associated with others equally wealthy and enterprising. They claimed to have made, either jointly or severally, one-third of all the Railroads in the United Kingdom; were prepared to lodge £30,000 in the Provincial Treasury as security for their good faith, and make either line through a single Province, or all the lines required, in any time that might be stipulated for, and upon any terms that might be fixed by Imperial and Colonial Engineers. Another of these contractors, said Mr. Howe, will make the forty miles from Truro to Pictou, or 30 or 50 from the trunk line to Windsor or Cornwallis, in less time, and with less chaffering, than would be required by some of our great politicians and capitalists to build a barn. Mr. Howe also referred to a proposition from an Associated Body of the working men of England, who were prepared to purchase 50 miles of land along the line, and transfer their skill, capital and families to the Provinces, if fair and honorable terms were given.— He could, he said, if authorized, have formed a dozen of such associations, and made arrangements to settle township after township, as the work advanced, through New Brunswick to the St. Lawrence.]

The position that we occupy, then, Mr. Mayor, is one of security and varied resource. We can unite with the other Provinces for the construction of Inter-Colonial Railways, or we can "do what we like with our own." We can make for British America 1000 miles of Railway at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if these Provinces are alive to their own interests. We can make the whole line to Portland, independently of the other, if New Brunswick follow our example, and pledge her public funds for the money. Or, we can make our own Roads to Pictou on one side, and Bridgetown on the other, without reference to what may be done beyond the frontier. If others choose to

waste time with bubble companies and expensive experiments—if this noble offer is rejected—we have enough to do till our neighbors purchase wisdom at 6 per cent. In the meanwhile we shall begin at the capital, and extend our own lines east and west. We can commence to-morrow if we choose, and can make 100 miles with more ease and celerity than any private company could make 10.—(Cheers.)

It has been said by some that the delegation was premature. Yet in what position would we stand now but for the delegation? We are armed at all points. We are prepared to make all the roads projected through the three Provinces, and save them £175,000 a year in interest; we are prepared with contractors to make the whole line to Portland at 5 per cent,—and we are prepared to make our own roads, independent of our neighbours. While we have been doing all this, Maine and New Brunswick have been passing Facility Bills, to try and get 275 miles of Railway made with about as many thousand pounds. They have not yet made a mile, or stuck a pickaxe—and yet we are told that our delegation was premature!

But it has as often been said, that we have broken faith with the people of Portland. I should like to know in what manner. The gentlemen at Portland invited us to discuss with them the propriety of making a Railroad. The delegates who attended represented local meetings or committees only, and nobody who sent them dreamed that the Government or Legislature was to be bound by anything they said or did. The meeting was preliminary, for the purpose of comparing views and eliciting information. Had we supposed that Maine was to dictate to us, how we were to make our portion of the Railroad—or that we were to be bound to pay some undiscovered capitalists £60,000 a year, when we could get our work done for £35,000, we certainly should have been no parties to the Convention. But in what essential have we broken faith? We offer to our neighbours the means to make the whole line. We have pledged our public resources to make our part of it. Have they offered us a pound, or raised one-fifth of what they want themselves?—Nay, can either or both show us anybody's obligation to lend them or us one-tenth of what we jointly require? They asked us to co-operate with them to obtain a Railroad, and we have broken faith by providing for our own requirements, and offering them money to build it to their very own doors.—(Loud cheers.) The spirited and unanimous demon-

stration made by all ranks and classes at Quebec, shows that our efforts have not been unappreciated in that quarter—and that the offer of the British Government has been hailed with the patriotic feeling it is so well calculated to evoke.

But, sir, all winter long, a gentleman from one of our northern counties has been pressing upon the Legislature a bill, asking to be incorporated, that he might build the Portland Railway. Now, I happen to know something of that person, and of the resources of the county he is trying to mislead; and sure I am, that, if you had incorporated him three times over, he would not raise, between this time and next Christmas, as much money as would make a single mile of Railroad.—(Great Laughter.) But let the County of Cumberland seriously reflect on what this gentlemen and his friends are about; for just so sure as the folly of these people tempt New Brunswick to rely upon co-operation which they have not the power to give, so surely will years elapse before Cumberland sees a Railroad approach her borders, either on one side or the other. The people of Cumberland however, shall not be so deceived; I will not wait till Mr. Dickey crosses the seas, but will take an early opportunity to discuss with him the merits of his scheme, and then let the people of Cumberland decide between us.—(Loud cheering.)

But, sir, it has been urged, that by accepting the proposal of Earl Grey, we pledge ourselves to make Railroads in New Brunswick, and to bear the burden of the whole scheme. A word of explanation upon this point. In giving my adhesion to this plan, I conceive I did nothing more than pledge Nova-Scotia to repay the principal and interest necessary to construct the Railroad across her own territory—I assumed that the other Provinces would do the same. If, however, it shall appear that New Brunswick is unable to bear her own burthen, I am quite prepared to consider whether Canada and Nova-Scotia shall lend their aid;—to what amount and in what proportions. But this is a new question, to be discussed and decided hereafter, upon its own merits. New Brunswick, in my opinion, will reap the the largest amount of benefit from the expenditure. She will get two most important lines at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent—the other provinces but one. She has 11,000,000 acres of crown lands to settle and to raise in value. Her population may be doubled in two or three years almost without an effort, and I am very sanguine, that when the true bearing of this proposal upon her great interests comes to be understood, her people will accept

it without any apprehension for the result. These two lines will touch nearly all her more populous counties, and breathe new life into them all,—these two lines will open up millions of acres of wilderness lands, and prepare locations for half a million of people,—who will settle township after township as the works advance.

But, it has been said that our own revenues will be swamped, and that our own country will be burthened by this speculation. Now, taking the worst view that can be taken of this enterprise,—let us suppose, that our 130 miles are made, and do not, for a few years, yield a pound beyond their working expenses. In that case, we should have £35,000 currency to raise. In 1849, our revenue was £15,000 less than in 1850; yet there was enough to pay all our ordinary expenses, and £30 or £40,000 to spare for Roads, Bridges and Schools. This year the Receiver General assures me our Revenue will increase from £5 to £7000 over that of 1850. Here then are £22,000 over and above the Revenue of 1849, before the Railroads have commenced. The difference of £13,000 may be met, for a few years, by an issue of Province Paper, if our Revenue should not increase from emigration or increased expenditure. But, sir, the population of Nova-Scotia is 300,000, and doubles every 20 years. Some of our young men, it is true, go abroad from restlessness and a desire to see the world. A few, to better their fortunes, it may be; more, to be convinced, by sad experience, that half the labor, energy and skill, fruitlessly expended in foreign states, would have made them richer and happier in their own country. But, sir, the cradles of Nova-Scotia add 15,000, year by year, to our population. I never see a bride going to church with orange blossoms in her bonnet, or a young couple strolling to Kissing Bridge of a summer evening, but I involuntarily exclaim, Heaven bless them—there go the materials to make the Railroads.—(Loud cheers and Laughter.)—So long then as love is made in Nova-Scotia, and love makes children, we shall 50 or 60,000 added to our population every five or six years, who will add at least £20 or £30,000 to our annual income. The speculation is, then, perfectly safe for us, even if an emigrant should not touch our shores.

Let me now, however, turn your attention to a subject which has been too long neglected in these North American Provinces,—I mean the subject of Emigration and Colonization. We are too apt to turn to the United States for comparisons

unfavorable to our own prosperity and advancement. One of the principal causes of this prosperity we rarely pause to consider. Yet, I believe, that since the recognition of American independence, the British Islands alone have thrown off at least 5,000,000 of people, to swell the numbers in the Republic. Every convulsion in continental Europe, adds its quota of capital, skilled labour, and energy, to those States. Germany has sent millions—France, Switzerland, Italy, lesser—but still valuable, contributions. Add to the emigrants who have come, the progeny that has sprung from their loins, and one half the whole population of the United States may be taken to represent its immigration.

Should we, then, with institutions as free as those of our neighbors—with a territory of boundless extent—with natural resources which defy calculation—with a noble country in our rear, capable of sustaining millions of people, permit this stream of population and wealth to flow past us, as the gulf stream flows, without a thought as to its utility, its volume, or its direction?

Of late our attention has only been turned to Emigration, by the occasional arrival of a floating pest house, and by the sufferings of poor wretches, flung by the accidents of life upon our shores. But the time approaches rapidly when all this will be changed,—when steamships of large size will transport the surplus labour of the British Islands to these Provinces, to go in upon these Railway lines, and fill up the fertile lands of the interior. Simultaneously with the commencement of these Railroads, the stream will set this way, and it will never cease to flow till it enlivens the shores of the Pacific. Make these Railroads, and our own enterprising townsman, who has already bridged the Atlantic, will start the Ocean Omnibus, or, if he does not, he will soon have competitors upon the line.

It has been, of late, too much the fashion in Nova-Scotia to speak slightly of Emigration. How few pause to reflect how much even of our own prosperity we owe to it;—and yet, a small band of English adventurers, under Cornwallis, laid the foundation of Halifax. These, at a critical moment, were reinforced by the Loyalist Emigration, which flowed into our Western Counties, and laid broad and deep the foundation of their prosperity. A few hardy emigrants from the old Colonies, and their descendants, built up the maritime county of Yarmouth.—Two men, of that stock, first discovered the value

of Lock's Island, the commercial centre of East Shelburne. A few hundreds of sturdy Germans peopled the beautiful county of Lunenburg. A handful of emigrants from Yorkshire gave animation to the County of Cumberland. The vale of Colchester has been made to blossom as the rose by the industry of a few adventurers from the North of Ireland. Half a century ago a few poor but pious lowland Scotchmen, penetrated into Pictou. They were followed by a few hundreds of Highlanders, many of them "evicted" from the Dutchess of Sutherland's Estates. Look at Pictou now, with its beautiful river slopes and fertile montain settlements—its one hundred schools; its numerous churches and decent congregations; its productive mines, and 30,000 inhabitants, living in comfort and abundance. The picture rises like magic before the eye, and yet every cheerful tint and feature has been supplied by emigration. At the last election it was said that 270 Frasers voted in that county—all of them heads of families and proprietors of land;—I doubt if as many of the same name can be found in all Scotland, who own real estate.

I remember the County of Sydney well, when the descendants of the old loyalists and disbanded soldiers were scattered upon its sea coast and river intervalles, "few and far between." Look at it now, and see what emigration, chance directed, has done for it, even in a few years. Turn to the three counties of Cape Breton, into which emigrants have been thrown, without forethought on the part of the Imperial or Provincial Government—without any care or preparation. What would those Counties be without the broad acres these men have cleared, without their stock, their shipping and their industry? And what would our Revenue be without their annual consumption? What lesson should we gather, then, from the history of the United States and from our own? The value of Emigration and Colonization. But, an idea prevails, that Nova-Scotia has no space to spare—no lands to people—that, however important emigration may be to New-Brunswick and to Canada, we have no room for the surplus population of Europe—no lands to give them should they come. This is also a mistake. [Here Mr. Howe exhibited a colored Map, from which it appeared that there were 4,000,000 of acres of Crown Lands yet ungranted in Nova-Scotia proper, exclusive of those in three Counties of Cape-Breton. Besides these, he argued, there were the vacant lands of large proprietors, while it was notorious that all the old

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farms would feed, by high cultivation, twice the population they contained.] There is room, then, for a very large body of emigrants in Nova-Scotia. Is there no room in this city, which must ultimately expand into ten times its present size?

I regret that it is too much the habit to depreciate our own country, instead of studying its resources, and anticipating its future progress. In an especial manner has this habit prevailed among the idle youth of Halifax. I have known hundreds, whose industrious fathers had toiled upon land and sea, to bring them up in luxury, and who have spent their own lives upon the side walks, or in senseless dissipation, all the time abusing the country they have been too idle to cultivate or improve. Dozens of these have died in imbecility and sloth—many more have wandered off to some “fool’s paradise” or other, and those who have been too proud to work in their own noble country, have toiled like slaves and died in foreign lands. Look round Halifax and ask who own the wharves and stores—the valuable corners, building lots and mansions, that these idlers, and unbelievers in Nova-Scotia’s resources, have let slip out of their hands. Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen, many of whom came into Halifax without a shilling, but who have added to its wealth by their industry, and who are living all around us in abundance, and many of them in the enjoyment of ample fortunes. Even Halifax, then, Mr. Chairman, has tested the value of emigration, and as she has thrown off her idlers and grumblers, has been recruited by an influx of the enterprising and industrious. What lessons should past experience, in town and country, teach us then? The value of emigration. Let me state here, that the government propose for the future, to combine the business of Emigration and Colonization with the duties of the land office, or commit to a distinct yet active Branch of Administration. Thus we shall have a Colonial Officer in communication with the Board of Land and Emigration at home, and through that Board with the Board of Poor Law Guardians, and with the constituted authorities of every city and parish in England. We propose to make the Deputy Surveyors in each County, active agents of this department—lay off the Crown Lands, and prepare pictures of their districts. We shall then have persons whose business it will be to instruct and advise every poor man who touches our shores—to prepare annual lists of the number and description of mechanics, farmers, servants or apprentices, required in different localities—

to bind the latter when they come, and protect them in case of need. By the aid of this simple, and not very expensive machinery, I shall be much mistaken if we do not add many thousands to our population, and a very handsome sum to our Revenue. In every part of North America, there is no remark more proverbial than that the farmer with a large family gets rich, while he who has no children is generally poor. Why is this? Because the labour of young people, from 12 or 14 to 21, is the least expensive and most profitable labor that a farmer can have. A boy or a girl on a farm soon learns to do light work as well as a man or woman—from 18 to 21 they can do men and women's work, but do not cost men and women's wages. It is the same upon the shores, where our fishermen and coasters have to rely upon the strength of their own families, and rarely can get an apprentice. And yet there are, in the Asylums of England and Ireland, at this moment, 185,000 children, 8,000 of them, on average, fit to be bound out. Any number of these, fine hearty boys and girls, may be had for the asking. They will be sent here free of expense, if we make preparations to receive them. Now, I propose to collect returns in the autumn, of the number of apprentices wanted in the spring, so that any industrious man may send for a boy or a girl as he would for a plough or a net. To our country this description of emigration is admirably well adapted, for these young people, in a few years, would be heads of families themselves, requiring from others the labor they had supplied. These provinces, I believe, could, under judicious arrangements, take the whole 8,000 that the Mother Country is prepared to throw off—which she now has to fling into her streets; and if they did, while our numbers were increased every day, the Mother Country would have 8,000 paupers, prostitutes, and thieves the less, and 8,000 honest and industrious people more would annually contribute to Colonial Revenue and to the consumption of British manufactures. Let us have the Railroads, then, and in addition to the natural absorption of labor by the settlements already formed, we may surperinduce, upon the construction, an enlarged and healthy system of Colonization.

Difficulties have, it is true, started up in New Brunswick, but let me say that I deprecate all attempts to scold the people of that Province for what they have done or left undone. Rash, I think they were,—but I quite appreciate the delicacy and difficulty of the position which the public men of New-Bruns-

wick occupied, called upon, at the close of a session, to deal suddenly with this great question. All that they felt I had foreseen before I left England, and, so far as I had authority or leisure, had provided for. I do not believe that the Legislature of New-Brunswick will permanently obstruct this mighty enterprise; and of this I am quite sure, that the people of that Province will not sustain them if they do. Let us look at the financial aspect of this question, shutting out of view for the moment all hopes of increased population and revenue. Suppose Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, by a company, were to construct the Portland Railroad, 330 miles, with money at 6 per cent. The annual interest would be £138,600, even if the stock sold at par. No Colonial Railway Company's bonds or stock would bring in England within 20 or 25 per cent. of the amount which the debentures of the government would bring, even without the guarantee. Take the higher rate, and there is a dead loss of 20 sovereigns in the 100, or £200 in every £1000, and £20,000 in every million. We want about two millions and a half to build the Portland Railroad. Add to this the half million sunk, at starting, and the annual interest, which the two Provinces must pay, for the Portland line alone, will be £180,000, for 330 miles road, to say nothing of the ruinous expenses entailed by uncertainty and delay. Now, Lord Grey will enable us to make 570 miles through these two Provinces, paying for interest but £139,650 or £40,350 a year less than Mr. Dickey and his Portland friends want us to pay for one. But, besides, New-Brunswick offers £20,000 for 20 years to the Quebec line. Now, add to this, her share of the interest on the Portland line at the dear rate of £119,000, and her money contribution is £139,000, about as much as both Provinces would have to pay, by my scheme, for both roads, or £31,000 more than I ask to pay for opening up her entire country. But what more has New-Brunswick pledged herself to give? A million and a half of acres of land upon the Portland line—three millions on the line to Quebec—4,500,000 acres. This land, at the low upset price of 2s. 6d. an acre, is worth £562 500: at 5s. £1,125,000. So, then, the interest on the value of the land, £75,000 a year, being added to the money already granted, and to the cost of what is to be raised at a ruinous rate, we have the round sum of £214,000 a year, while I offer to make her both roads—open her entire country—double and treble her population, for £108,535 a year, leaving

her to make the most of her 4,500,000 acres of land as they rise in value. These are the facts, sir, upon which I rely, to convince the public men of New-Brunswick ; at all events, I am very confident that they will be easily understood by the people.

But we are sometimes told that Halifax is going to ruin the Province, and that the distant counties have no interest in this scheme. Sir, it becomes Halifax to take the lead in this, as she has hitherto done in noble enterprises and battles for principle, of which all parts of the Province have reaped the advantage. The destiny of Halifax is secure. Providence has made her the natural emporium of east and west—has formed her noble harbour and capacious basin to receive the products of a vast interior. When the Electric Telegraph was introduced, it began at Halifax because here alone was there business to sustain it. It paid, and now it is being extended to various sections of the Province by private enterprise. Suppose it had gone first to White Head, where nobody lived, and where there was nothing for it to do? The speculation would have failed, and no more lines would have been built. So it will be with the Railroads. We want them, not merely for strangers to pass over our country, (and if we put them on such lines, they would not pay, for local and not through traffic sustains a Railroad) but for our own trade and our own people. Build one to White Head tomorrow, and of what use would it be to the people of Pictou and Sydney, where much misconception prevails on this subject? A century must elapse before White Head would grow to the size of Halifax—and, in the meantime, the cattle, and sheep, and pork, and butter and oatmeal, would come to Halifax, where the consumers are, and the cars would go to White Head where they are not. For every Pictou and Sydney man that goes to Europe, five hundred come to Halifax. What would be the consequence? Halifax would make her branch line, which would be profitable,—the other would be ruinous, there being little or nothing for it to do at White Head, from the time a steamer arrived or went away. But, suppose a line made to Halifax, with money at a low rate of interest; in a few years it would pay: perhaps at once, as the Telegraph did—and then, how soon would branches extend to Pictou and Antigonish on the one side, and to Bridgetown or Annapolis on the other? How long would one of my English friends be making us 40 or 50 miles east or west? Then, suppose the

country behind us, opened and filled up by two or three millions of people. Would they eat no fish? Yes, sir, we should have a home market for our Fishermen, where they would not be interfered with by Bounties, or have to pay 20 per cent. Suppose Halifax and St. John become depots for the productions of the west; will the shipping of Yarmouth and Richmond—of Shelburne, Queen's, Lunenburg and Guysborough, have nothing to do? Believe me, sir, that the eastern and western seaports would rise, as Halifax rose, and where they have one vessel at sea now, they would then have ten.

The whole Province, and not Halifax alone, has deep pecuniary interests in the construction of these Railroads. But, after six months of thoughtful reflection on this matter, I have brought my mind to the belief that there are higher interests involved even than our own. I believe this to be God's work, and I believe that He will prosper it. I believe that a wise and beneficent Providence never intended that millions of square miles of fertile territory, behind and around us, should lie waste and unoccupied, while millions of our fellow creatures rot in Alms Houses and Poor Houses over the sea, or perish for lack of food. I regard these Railroads, after all, but as means for the accomplishment of elevated and beneficent ends. I believe that, while the Mother Country aids us in the great work of internal improvement and national organization, we can aid her by removing the plague spots, poverty and crime, from her bosom; we can offer her a freehold for every surplus laborer she has; we can take thousands who are burthensome, and make them help to support those who now support them; we can cut off the sources of crime, by providing for the Orphanage of England; we can clear the streets of the destitute, and rob the gallows of its prey.—(Loud cheers.) During my recent visit to the British Islands, I surveyed with pride and exultation their accumulated wealth—their high cultivation—their noble cities—their unsuspected courts—their active commerce—their science, art, refinement and civilization—but, I saw with sorrow and regret, much poverty and wretchedness, which, I believe, may be largely abated, if they cannot be entirely removed. Aid me in this good work, and the capital of England will flow into North America, providing healthy employment for her surplus population; aid me in this good work, and the poor rates of Britain may be beaten down from \$,000,000 to £3,000,000; aid me in this good work, and the

streets may be cleared, and the Alms Houses closed up; and me in this good work, and, while the home markets are extended, British North America will rise to the rank of a second or third rate power, with all the organization and attributes of a nation. (Loud cheers.)

There is one passage of my published letters, upon which I, perhaps, owe to my fellow citizens some explanation. It is that in which I suggest that convicts might be advantageously employed upon these Railroads. Before you decide against this proposition, reflect how convicts are made in over peopled states. In Britain, the man who shoots a hare passing across his neighbour's ground, is a free man one day, and a convict the next. What harm would he do in North America, where every urchin is at liberty to shoot what game he sees? What harm would the poacher do us, if, after making half a mile of Railroad, he got a bit of land beside it, and reared a race of "mighty hunters," to pay us revenue in peace, and defend our frontiers in war? In Ireland there were, until very recently, 44,000 families, each living on one acre of land. One acre of land! While a farmer in Nova-Scotia is half smothered if he has less than 100. In 7 years, 800,000 families were "evicted" from these small holdings. How many convicts did this process make? Fancy that either of you, with a large family, occupied a poor cabin on one acre of ground. That you had toiled and struggled to pay the rent, and could not—and that the house was pulled down over your head, and your furniture and children, and sick wife, perhaps, were flung into the road. Who is there, in all this audience, who, when night closed above him amidst such scenery and such temptations, might not be a convict? If I were not, I would say of myself as the Scotch clergyman said when he saw the man going to be hanged, "there goes —— but for the grace of God."—(Cheers.)

Let me sketch another picture. I was returning at midnight from the Mansion House, where the abounding wealth of London was fitly represented at the Lord Mayor's hospitable board; where the luxuries of every clime tempted the palate, amidst the appliances of almost barbaric splendour. As I rode through the streets, shadows occasionally darkened the doorways—poor wretches appeared to be crouching for shelter from the rain. At last I got out of the cab, and found a group of three children, the eldest a girl of seven, the others about three and four years old, sitting on the steps of a closed shop, with the win-

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ter rain beating in their little faces, at one o'clock in the morning. I asked why they did not go home? They said they had no home—their mother was dead—their father seeking work somewhere, and the elder girl was vainly endeavoring to spread the ends of a thread bare shawl over the little brother and sister who cowered beside her. My first impulse was to bundle the creatures into the cab and take them to my lodgings—but I compromised with my conscience, gave them some money, and went home to bed—not to sleep, but to reflect. Suppose your children or mine were seated in that door-way, growing day by day, in destitution and misery, amidst the temptations of a great city, and nightly exposed to the contact of all that was vicious by impulse, and resistless from organization. What might our children be? Such as these become, thieves and prostitutes first, and convicts afterwards, almost as a matter of course. The question naturally arises, then, can we do anything in this matter? I think we can. By taking the older children, and making good farmers, and fishermen and sailors of them, we can create a vent to relieve the asylum, and then the streets may be cleared. By furnishing land and employment for industrious adults, “evictions” will cease, and agrarian outrages diminish in number; but we may do more, if a single experiment, which I am anxious to try, succeeds, and it can be shown that convicts, disciplined and guarded, can be worked in the woods. This idea originated with Major Robert Carmichael Smyth, than whom, I may say, the North American Provinces have not a more fervent admirer, nor a more zealous and devoted friend. To his brother, Sir J. C. Smyth, we owe the admirable military survey and report which have strengthened our defences; and if my friend's experiment can be fairly tried, to him we may owe the extension of these Railroads, and the opening of a route to the Pacific. In view of such vast advantages I would not hesitate an instant to turn him in upon the lines with a Regiment of Convicts, who would be maintained and guarded without any expense to us. If he fails, we have tried a benevolent experiment; if he succeeds, in five years our Roads are done, and these pioneers will be far beyond the western frontiers of Canada, opening up the magnificent country beyond, to settlement and civilization.—(Cheers.)

With one word of personal explanation, I shall move the first Resolution. While in England some of my friends sent me a New-Brunswick paper, in which it was more than insinuated,

that I had gone to settle not the Railroad, but the Government of Prince Edward Island. That Government was vacant for months after I reached England, but it was never named by me, nor was that or any other personal favor ever asked of the Colonial Secretary. Still from first to last, I felt that nothing would so lower and degrade my country, so injure her cause, or evince greater unworthiness of the confidence she had reposed, than for me to solicit any personal favor. I felt that I was charged with your interests—not my own—that I had the honor of my country in my hands, and was bound to protect it.—(Cheers.) This I may say perhaps, that the noble Secretary for the Colonies would not have withheld from me any personal favor that I could have fairly asked—that he would gladly have improved my fortunes, if I could have suggested the mode. But his Lordship did not pay me the poor compliment of supposing that I could abandon the field of honorable exertion which lies before me. To that he knew, as you know, my energies must be devoted, till these great works are completed, until these experiments of philanthropy and moral obligation are fairly tried. To labor with . . . and for you, that we may work out the prosperity and happiness of our common country, is for me sufficient distinction,—and let me say, in conclusion, though my eye has rested, during my absence, upon many noble objects and many beautiful scenes, for them all I would not exchange the warm hearts that are beating around me here.—(Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. Howe then moved the following Resolution:

Resolved, That the Citizens of Halifax have read, with unmingled satisfaction, the Letter addressed, on the 10th March, to the Honorable Joseph Howe, by Benjamin Hawes, Esquire, acting under the directions of Earl Grey, and by which Funds to the extent of Seven Millions of Pounds, to be expended in the construction of Inter-Colonial Railways through the North American Provinces, are rendered to the Governments of Canada, Nova-Scotia, and New-Brunswick, on terms which secure the completion of those works at a little more than one half of what they would cost without the direct interposition of Imperial credit.

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